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US Nomination of a New Man to the Paris Talks: a Backdown from an Arrogant Move

Says DRVN Foreign Minister
to VNA Correspondent

DRVN Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh granted an interview to a Vietnam News Agency correspondent on current events. Following are the questions and answers:

Question: Would you please, Comrade Minister, comment on the US President's July 1 statement on Viet Nam?

Answer: The US President's July 1 statement proved that no change had been brought to the Nixon administration's policy of aggression against Viet Nam. The US is continuing its "Vietnamization" to prolong the war in South Viet Nam while intensifying its armed intervention in Laos and going on with its aggression in the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The US President only reiterated US position maintained at the Paris Conference for more than a year now: "mutual withdrawal" and continuous in office of the Thieu-Ky-Nguyen puppet administration to deny the right to self-determination to the South Vietnamese people.

Question: What do you think, Comrade Minister, of the appointment of a new US chief delegate to the Paris Conference?

Answer: It has always been the opinion of the DRVN Government that the absence of progress at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam is due to the US persistence of its policy of aggression and its obdurate stance at the negotiation table.

The DRVN Government's position is quite clear: only when the US gives up its aggressive design against Viet Nam will the Paris Conference be able to make headway.

President Nixon had refused to appoint a new chief of the US delegation to the Paris Conference since November 1969. That the US has had time to do so meant simply a forced backdown from an arrogant move. If the US intends to make use of this in cover its obduracy, surely nobody will fall a dupe to it.

The attitude of the DRVN Government has been one of seriousness and willingness to negotiate a settlement of the Viet Nam issue on the sensible basis of the to-point overall solution advocated by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

No peace hour nor any insolent threat of the US can sway the iron determination of the Vietnamese people in their just struggle for their fundamental national rights.

Question: Could you tell us when Minister Xuan Thuy will return to Paris?

Answer: Minister Xuan Thuy's return to Hanoi to report to the Government on the Paris Conference is a matter of routine.

PLAF attacking the Mai Loc (Quang Tri)
"Special Forces" Camp, April 10, 1970

In the First Half of 1970

SOUTH VIET NAM PEOPLE KEPT UP AND CONSOLIDATED THEIR OFFENSIVE POSTURE AND WON SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESS

- ★ 230,000 Enemy Troops Put out of Action
- ★ 4,200 Aircraft Downed or Destroyed
- ★ 10,000 Military Vehicles Including 6,000 Tanks and Armoured Cars Wrecked
- ★ 250 Ships and Combat Launches Sunk
- ★ 1,500 Heavy Guns and Mortars and 500 Logistic Depots Put out of Commission

(Communiqué of the South Viet Nam PLAF Command)

THE Command of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces issued on July 1, 1970 a communiqué on the successes obtained by the South Viet Nam patriotic forces in the first six months of 1970. The communiqué said that in the period under review important events had taken place throughout the Indo-Chinese peninsula, marking a new turn in the revolutionary development in that region.

In the spring of 1970 (January-March) the PLAF caused heavy damage to the enemy and upset his "pacification" program. The Lao patriotic forces also recorded a great achievement by regaining control of the Plain of Jars-Xiang Khoang strategic area.

To get out of their quagmire, the US imperialists staged on March 15 a coup d'état in Cambodia to stave off the failure of "Vietnamization," scotch the revolutionary movement in Cambodia and turn her into a US military base and new-type colony.

Developments in Indo-China, especially in Cambodia, thwarted the ambition of the US imperialists. The National United Front and the National Union Royal Government of Cambodia were established; the National Liberation Armed Forces grew rapidly. Half of the country and millions of people were liberated, forming a vast and solid rear base

for the Cambodian resistance to US aggression.

The Lao people and armed forces entirely liberated the provinces of Attapeu and Saravane and put out of action 16,000 enemy troops. The South Vietnamese people continued to achieve great successes. An anti-US front was set up by the three Indo-Chinese peoples to enable them to strengthen their unity and increase mutual assistance until victory and enlist greater support from the world's peoples.

In the first half of 1970, the South Vietnamese people put out of action nearly

230,000 enemy troops, downed or destroyed 4,200 aircraft, wrecked 10,000 military vehicles including 6,000 tanks and armoured cars, sank 250 ships and combat launches, put out of commission 1,500 heavy guns and mortars and over 500 logistic depots, demolished a great part of "strategic hamlets" and extended their control to new areas.

The successes of the Indo-Chinese peoples landed the US imperialists and their quacklings in a predicament plagued by divergences and

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U.S. Neo-Colonialism in South Viet Nam

SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL POISONS

(II)

THESE professions of faith made by Nguyen Manh Con and Chu To speak volumes for the morality and intellectual probity of all the knights of the anti-communist literary crusade whose private life gives as useful information about the motivation of their words. A mandarin's son, and an opium addict from a boy of 21, Nguyen Manh Con served as informer and spy for the Japanese, Chiang Kai-shek troops, the French and the Yankes and their lackeys after spending a short spell in the Resistance. With regard to Chu To, after having the August 1945 Revolution, he turned his coat and went and lived under the protection of the French and then the Americans. After his surrender to imperialism in the first Resistance War, Don Quixote went South in 1954 and set up a literary group living on USOM subsidies. Via Hoang Chuong, Dinh Hung and many others are perfect examples of debauchery and immorality.

The anti-communist literature in Saigon covers a most varied range, going from the most thumping lies of the Goebbels type to Kierkegaardian or Camusian subtleties. It does its best to vilify North Viet Nam and the socialist countries, using frequently the propaganda words widely distributed in the Western hemisphere. It evokes more or less discreetly the "free world" and the Americans.

Each writer has his own way of attacking communism. Instead of peeping his novels with communist characters, Chu To makes vague references to them in his works, giving them only minor roles. His craft consists in insinuating, by some details or words thrown at random, that the Viet Cong are barbaric, cruel, fanatical and incapable of all human sentiments.

Nguyen Manh Con shamelessly distorts the truth. In his 300-page book *Lost in History*, he cleverly interpreted the August 1945 Revolution which is no history of good sense dates to contest - put an end to an equal bond, by saying: "Our fellow-countrymen have found, in the morning after, that national independence differs nothing from foreign domination..." "It is a criminal upheaval," he went on, "a chaos, a disorder, with unforgivable errors." For him, naturally, North Viet Nam has been turned into a hell where abound scenes of carnage, forced labour, horrible vendettas, etc.

The courageous fighters taking part in the Resistance against French colonialism were also taken to task. The worst insinuations were connected against them. Thus in the play *Blues*, Dong Kim twists facts, showing a Viet Minh militant who gives up his ideal after the dramatic suicide of his daughter. On this subject, a Saigon critic said that "Dong Kim seems to be in too great a hurry and fails to conceal his artifice."

In the play *The Tree of Suffering*, Don Quixote by resorts to allegory which is easier for him to make people swallow his gross affirmations. He dreams of an Olymp in which the Emperor of Heaven severely castigates a communist leader.

Let's note that since US implantation in South Viet Nam in 1954, the anti-communist propaganda has seen the spectrum of its themes shrink gradually, as plainly shown in literary creations. No Dinh Dien began by lumping all former resistance members under a "Viet Cong" head. He paid dear for this strategic error as he could vainly rely then to isolate the communists. After his downfall, the anti-communist literature has lost much of its superciliousness, its authors having sensed the imminence of defeat. Instead of clamouring overjoyed for bloodshed and reprisals, it lowers the tone without losing for that its virulence and obstinacy, chiefly after the 1968 popular offensives. Saigon has had to admit in its language the word "peace" tabooed since long because of the war to the knife against the VC. The "paywar" was quick in using it, trying to demoralize the people up in arms and to win the people's fighters to a life in capitulation. Hence a copious "compassion" literature was born which depicts the horrors of war, blurring the distance between the patriotic war for liberation and the war of aggression. It is in this vein

Irrational, Brutality and Pornography

JUSTICE should be done to Ngo Dinh Diem for having unconsciously put forward, prompted by his neo-colonialist convictions, the problem of ideological struggle. He said: "This war does not only have a military character. It is a war which confronts an ideology with another" (*Coch Morning Post*, April 22, 1954).

In his message of April 17, 1956 to the "Constitutional Assembly" Diem made clear his conceptions: "This basis of the regime can be put in spiritualism. The only road to follow is personalism."

It was at the "Cultural Congress" in January 1957 that the official politico-philosophic doctrine was introduced, and was licked into shape by Ngo Dinh Nhu, Diem's brother and political advisor. It held that the secret of the economic and military might of the West, whose school Asia should follow, lay essentially in the faith in god and his spirit.

Diem's spiritualism (*Day 1966*) seemed to be a course reversal of the French colonialism which was based on dialectical materialism. In fact, Nhu's cogitations were so hazy that even among his intimates the conceptions differed a great deal. What was certain was that they led to a mediocrity regime moulded on absolute monarchism. The political regime of Viet Nam has ever been established on state management not by people's representatives, but by a king and some clericalised ministers. This conception has yielded excellent results. (Ngô Dinh Diem in an interview with *Le Figaro*, 1960). Diem's dictatorship shed so much innocent blood in the name of personalism that J.M. Domenach, chief editor of *Express* had more than once to deny that falsification

that Phan Duy, a musician degraded in the last Resistance, composed his "songs from the heart." However, notwithstanding all their metamorphoses and lies, the anti-communist letters and arts have not yielded the expected results. Chu To indirectly affirmed their failure when, in a collective confession made after the liquidation of Ngô Dinh Diem, he said: "We who claimed to fight with one eye for freedom, democracy and emancipation of man, shut our eyes to swallow filth, pervert our souls, betray the truth and our nation." This confession made in 1963, which was but a demagogic move to break with a regime despised by the people, still sounds true in 1970. In its Feb. 3, 1970 issue, a Saigon paper pointed to the mercenary and enslaving character of the thoroughly anti-communist neo-colonialist culture, by invoking the symbolic meaning which could be conveyed by a new monument erected in front of the Saigon University: "When he looks at the lotus flower, the visitor will see in his mind's eye the ten fingers caressing a round dollar coin, or ten fingers of both hands rising to the sky in a begging gesture." (*Chinh Luu*)

of the teaching of E. Mounier, his master.

The 1963 putch tolled the knell of the "spiritualist-personalist" regime and of a period of blooming of the Catholic Church. The Catholic thought, the CIA and military junta in the saddle took pains to find a politico-philosophic doctrine. In the anti-communist angle, it favoured, besides US pragmatism of all shades, the spreading of western ideologies which degrade man and turn the Vietnamese people away from their struggle for national salvation.

The socio-psychological climate in Saigon was favourable to it. There was first the credibility gap caused by Diem's downfall which left a vacuum unable to be filled by any other guiding. Then the war of aggression reached an unheard-of degree of horror with heinous crimes committed by the US expeditionary forces, B-52, toxic chemicals, etc. The massive introduction of wealth and pleasure-seeking legions generated great disturbance chiefly in the towns: frenzied rush for money, speculation, stock market, inflation of the piastre, proliferation of vice and of prostitution, insecurity of the future, social chaos.

On the other hand, there was also the irresistible march of the revolutionary movement. One understands the confusion of the ruling classes and some urban strata bound up with the latter or politically amorphous.

It is a hotbed for the currents of thought issued from the irrational of a world in a blind alley leading to nihilism. The conditions of crisis responsible for the birth of that philosophy in the Germany of 1918 and France at the end of World War II, are found again in South

Viet Nam, at least in occupied towns and cities. But the Vietnamese materialism takes on other hues. Without speaking of its sifting through narrow circles of Catholic and Buddhist intellectuals, it is spread less under the form of voluminous philosophical treatises than through short essays, poems, tales and novels.

Basically reactionary, it flouts criticism of the bourgeois society which are not lacking among the western existentialists. So Jean Paul Sartre does not always enjoy their partiality. He is embarrassing, even dangerous with his acceptance of historical materialism - though he rejects dialectical materialism - and especially with his position on the Viet Nam war.

Causus who has many works translated into foreign languages, is a writer well-known in Saigon. His *La Peine* (Penance) makes it possible to put up with everything in a country where the aggressor's arrogance and crimes are as clear as daylight: you must bear the misfortune which swoops down on you so preposterously, fate has willed so.

Existential ideas are plentifully exploited by a cheap literature and a more dangerous still, named by unwilling and perverse people who cover their irresponsibility, vice and immorality with an elegant philosophical veil. The revolt against reality is quite platonic and verbal: "I live in the thick of a war, but feel no anguish. I do not care for the tragedy which is unfolding against my fate and that of others" (Dang Nghiem Nam, *Night*, 1965). While virtue is also as absurd as vice, Chu Tu professes: "Motherland, justice, fraternity, friendship, love, all this is but dupery" (*Live*). "Natural complexes inherent in so-called honest citizens should radically be eradicated" (*Love*). The hero in *Death* by Thao Trong goes in search of life: he joins the army, loots, rapes, tortures and then shoots at his leg so as to be d-m-bled, all this without any conviction.

The queer meditations on existence and nihilism are to justify the adventure itself, brutality, murder and lewdness - nice themes which the US recruitment centres do not fail to get the best of market thus serves paywar and pornography.

In *Soldier's Lovers*, the first Saigonese novel translated into English, Van Luong eulogizes a young woman who offers her body simultaneously to war officers, he glorifies the bestial instincts of man. A dozen "woman of letters" including Nguyen Thi Hoang, Tuy Hong, Tuy Vu, won fame with their erotic and even pornographic novels. A book has a provoking title: *On Ways of Inventing a Woman's Body*. Speaking of the literature in occupied areas in 1960, the Saigon paper *Chinh*

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In the previous issues, we have published the Political Report under discussion at the 6th session in June of the DRVN National Assembly. Today we give excerpts from the economic report submitted on behalf of the government by the Chairman of the State Planning Commission (Italics are ours). - Ed.

A Legitimate Pride

THE rapporteur first reviews the results obtained during the 4 years of resistance to US aggression. Faced with a fierce war of destruction the North Vietnamese economy was able, however, to accomplish great strategic tasks incumbent on it: to meet the requirements of national defence, keep traffic flowing and cater for the fundamental needs of the people's life.

It is a far-reaching victory of strategic importance, which made a decisive contribution to the common victory of the people in both zones of Viet Nam. In the extremely difficult conditions inherent in a country not very large in size and in population, with an under-developed, even backward, economy and compelled to confront the imperialist chastity who possesses unequalled economic and military potentials, our people really worked wonders. We have every reason to be proud of the vitality of our people and of the vigour of our regime, and of the bombs, whatever their number, failed to subdue us.

After highlighting the successes in various fields, the rapporteur holds that one of the important results is that:

After over a year's activity since the founding of the State, we have had a clearer view on our economy, on the most pressing economic problems and on the orientation to be given to their solution.

At present, North Viet Nam's economy remains essentially one of small production, with an indifferent standard of production and productivity: yet we have to ourselves to answer the enormous needs of the resistance and the reconstruction of the country. To US aggression, we must ensure distribution of goods in accordance with socialist principles, see to a decent living standard for our people, while gradually by conscious effort, we build up a socialist economy. That is the fundamental difficulty and also the basic problem of our economy as a whole.

As on our under-developed, even backward, economy, four years of the war of destruction inflicted serious damage, we need time to wipe off all its aftermaths. On the

other hand, our shortcomings in economic management is also an important factor which has hampered the full development of all potentials and delayed the correction of numerous mistakes...

Nevertheless, we are in a position to surmount all the present difficulties, because we have put into operation favourable factors of a very fundamental character, namely, the justness of the line, market, incentives, defined by our Party, the excellence of the socialist regime, the new relations of production, revolutionary enthusiasm, the initiative of our people, and the valuable aid of brotherly countries.

The rapporteur enumerates other factors, among them the contingent of technicians, equipment, etc., and the quantity of capital goods which is increasing little by little.

DRVN MAJOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Present Tasks

After pointing to the economic tasks in the general situation, the report says:

At present we must re-organize our economy, restore and improve the methods of management, step by step stabilize the life of the people and gradually normalize the economic activity in keeping with the requirements of the present situation.

While concentrating our efforts on solving post-war problems, we must endeavour to develop the socialist economy, step by step build the economic structures as defined by the line of development laid down for the initial stage we have to go through. This general line consists in giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the expansion

of agriculture and light industry and simultaneous building of the culturally-advanced economy and social economy.

In the building of the new structures, the key problem is the transformation of agriculture, based on individual farming and monoculture, into a collectivized, diversified agriculture capable of raising its yield rapidly and supplying many marketable products.

Basing ourselves on this transformation of agriculture, we can promote a new division of labour and give a new impulse to the development of industry and other branches with a view to raising production and the productivity and the volume of social products.

With agricultural development, there is the possibility of ensuring more regular supply for light industry, and of developing it more rapidly. Precisely, the development of agriculture and the intensification of the exchanges of products between the cities and the countryside, and the improvement of the people's living conditions call for a vigorous expansion of light industry parallel to that of agriculture.

Consequently, in the immediate future, we must try to boost agriculture and light industry and to achieve a leap forward in these two

The report then sets out concrete tasks for each branch of agriculture: subsidiary food crops, animal husbandry, fish raising and afforestation. To attain the triple objectives of 5 tons of paddy in 1970, 2 pigs and one man-yam per hectare, it is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the agricultural co-ops, reinforce State co-ops, develop private co-ops, concerning agriculture and reinforce the concrete direction of farms.

Tasks in the Industrial Field

PARALLEL to agricultural development, production of consumer goods must make rapid headway. It is in this branch that we shall focus our efforts in order to serve the people, intensify the exchange of goods between agriculture and industry, increase the volume of export goods and effectively contribute to the initial accumulation of capital for socialist industrialization.

The report draws attention to fishing and the processing of aquatic products, to the food industries, cloth-making, glass and porcelain ware...

We must develop the potential of local industry, including small industry and handicrafts, while restoring and stepping up the activities of centrally-run industry, so as to form an industrial network for consumer goods adjusted to the conditions of our country...

The restoration and development of some branches of heavy industry - electricity, coal, building material, fertilizers, also constitute important tasks.

New Division of Labour and New Methods of Management

ECONOMIC building and development in the coming years call for a new distribution of the labour forces between the various branches and areas, to help intensive cultivation, economic development of the mountains and uplands, better forest exploitation, fishing, production of consumer goods and export lines and development of other branches of heavy industry.

The work force remains considerable, and concentrated for a major part in agriculture where a new organisation will help free abundant manpower for other branches. The development of industry and handicrafts will also absorb this manpower. State services must proceed towards a more rational employment of their staffs. For years, the schools have trained many technicians and skilled workers. The problem is to make a rational use of them. Great care must be given to the health and welfare of the workers.

In the years to come, a system of economic management must be built in a way suitable to the structures of our economy which is switching over from small to large-scale production. This is an important job.

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Checking pumping-boats destined to agricultural co-operatives

D.R.V.N. FOREIGN MINISTRY EXPOSES CONTINUED AMERICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST CAMBODIA

Excerpts from a DRVN Foreign Ministry Statement on July 3, 1970

On June 30 last, the US imperialists had to pull US troops out of Cambodia. US President Nixon took this occasion to reiterate his "desire for peace" and boast of an imaginary US victory in an effort to cover US criminal aggression in Cambodia.

Although forced to withdraw its troops from Cambodia, it is actually continuing its aggression there with puppet troops from Saigon and Thailand who are treating on the land of Cambodia and massacring Khmer civilians. The US is evaluating the war with savage air raids on Cambodia's territory. It is increasing military aid to the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, its henchmen, and pressuring its satellites to supply the former with weapons and men. It is keeping US troops handy for another direct aggression against Cambodia. At the same time it is stepping up its "Vietnamization" to prolong the aggression in South Viet Nam, and insolently threatening the DRVN with aerial provocations, as it actually did in the first days of May last.

It is thus clear that the Nixon Administration is still nurturing the illusory dream of a military victory and clinging to the hope for a negotiating position of strength. Therefore Nixon's "desire for peace" and "negotiations for a just peace" double talk is but a smoke-screen for US criminal prolongation and expansion.

tion of the war of aggression against the Indochinese countries. Nixon's insolent threats have only revealed further the bellicosity and obduracy of US imperialism. Decidedly they cannot shake the iron determination of the three Indochinese peoples to strengthen their unity and fight together till complete victory over the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the DRVN warmly hail the heroic Khmer people's glorious success represented by the US forced withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia. The Vietnamese people give full support to the sound position made clear by Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in his statement of June 30, 1970 which condemned the continuation of US aggression in Cambodia and demanded Nixon to stop using air forces of the US, the Saigon puppet administration and the reactionaries in Thailand against Cambodia's territory, and a speedy, unconditional pull-out from Cambodia of all the forces of the henchmen of the US in Saigon and Bangkok.

The Vietnamese people and the DRVN Government firmly believe that the Khmer people, in their militant solidarity with the peoples of Viet Nam and Laos and backed by the vigorous sympathy and support from the socialist countries and the peace- and justice-loving people in the world, will record yet bigger achievements.

The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued on July 3 a statement strongly denouncing the traitorous Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique's so-called "vandalism" on Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

The statement declared that the Royal Government of National Union would bring the traitors in Phnom Penh to trial before a people's tribunal after final victory. The statement read:

"According to foreign news agencies' dispatches from Phnom Penh, the traitorous 'government' and usurers of constitutional power, the fascist reactionary Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique, has, after spending three months in fabricating 'evidence' and 'witnesses', established a military tribunal to pass a 'judgment' on Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia."

"While vigorously denouncing this action of the traitorous Lon Nol - Sirik Matak 'government' as an offence without precedent in the annals of the Kingdom of Cambodia and even in international practice, the Royal Government of National Union wishes to underline the illegals, and anti-constitutional character of the so-called 'Sihanouk trial'."

"In fact, according to the Constitution of the Kingdom, 'the person of the supreme Head of State is sacred and inviolable'."

"Samdech Norodom Sihanouk is not only Head of State of Cambodia, but is also recognized as a national hero by the entire nation for having led his people and Motherland to complete independence when he was King."

"Samdech Norodom Sihanouk is a Head of State whose efforts in safeguarding the independence, territorial integrity and peace in neutrality of Cambodia and in her all-sided construction have commanded the respect and admiration of foreign countries and of well-known personalities of the 'free' world and even the United States of America."

The statement continued:

"The traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique have shamelessly violated the Constitution of the Kingdom and the elementary principles of democracy and law by charging Samdech Norodom Sihanouk with treason in the light of his collusion with foreign troops in attacks on the Cambodian people". This was aimed at satisfying their hatred for the Head of State of Cambodia who struggles to prevent them from selling the country to the US imperialists.

"During the past 15 years until the coup d'etat of the usurers of constitutional power in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State, enjoyed peace and progress. This fact has been recognized by all foreign observers including Americans."

"This peace had been achieved thanks to the policy approved at that time also by the Phnom Penh traitors themselves."

"We wish to emphatically point out that the foreign policy pursued by Cambodia until March 18, 1970, was one of national independence, peace and neutrality."

"Being neutral, Cambodia had refused to become a party to the US aggression in South Viet Nam."

"In this connection, attention should be paid to the following:

"In South Viet Nam, cynically violating the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the US imperialist aggressors have been carrying on a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people."

"In this war of aggression, the US imperialist aggressors have utilized their paid agents, from Ngo Dinh Diem to Thieu-Ky-Kien, against the resistance of the Vietnamese people who have been fighting to recover their freedom and independence."

"In face of this situation, the Cambodian people, like all other peoples cherishing peace, freedom and justice, must take a clear stand against the aggressor (the US imperialists) and for the victim of aggression (the Vietnamese people), that is to say, against those who resort to the 'jungle law' to implement their imperialist policy and for the victim of aggression (the Vietnamese people) who fight in defence of their legitimate right to live."

"The Cambodian people cannot tolerate the Vietnamese people's legitimate right to live being violated and trampled underfoot by the US imperialist aggressors who have come from more than 10,000 kilometers away to invade our fraternal neighbour, the Vietnamese people."

Our group included a cameraman from Phnom Penh, a photographer from Nung Yent, two typists from Battambang and Kunpong Cham, and myself, a consultant from Toul Sap.

It was no accident that we were given this special assignment by the Information Office of the National United Front of Kampuchea. We were so because since the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup d'etat we had stood up to many tests. Our theatre of operations stretched from A to N and its size and hectic activity kept us constantly on the move. Now we took part in the Cambodian National Liberation actions on posts held by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak troops. Now we accompanied patriotic houses in visits to our fellow-countrymen and helped them rebuild their houses destroyed by the US-Thieu-Ky aviation, mortar or artillery. Now we were together with the Khmer (provisional) officials and organized a meeting for the reestablishment of the administration in the newly liberated areas.

Wherever we went we were offered food and board and shown great affection by the population. We were regarded as genuine revolutionary ones of the Cambodian nation by the old folk and ardently welcomed by the new Cambodian liberation troops. The more we travelled about, the more we loved

facilities for direct economic relations and contractual relations among the various economic units... The process of the division of responsibilities for economic management between the central administration and the localities, already started, must continue. This is a new problem whose solution goes in par with the establishment of a more balanced development of agriculture and industry, on a nationwide as well as local scale. The problems of planning have also been envisaged. In conclusion, the report affirms the possibility to realize the defined objectives. The economic restoration and development will go hand in hand with increasingly important successes against US aggression.

Greater initiative power will supply

"Phnom Penh Trial" Farce Denounced by Cambodian Royal Government of National Union

"The Vietnamese people's patriotic forces have never attacked the Cambodian people, whereas the US Saigon armed forces, according to the White Paper distributed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government at the beginning of 1970, have committed against the Cambodian people from 1962 to May 1969:

"1,864 encroachments and attacks on the territory, 165 encroachments and attacks on our territorial waters, 5,149 encroachments and attacks from the air, killing 293 and wounding 600 people among our national defence forces and civilians, including children, women and old people."

"This tragic list shows clearly and irrefutably that those who 'attack the Cambodian people' are none other than the US imperialists and their Saigon lackeys."

"A few days after their March 18, 1970 coup d'etat, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, usurers of constitutional

power and traitors to the Motherland, committed the most dastardly crime against the Cambodian people in dispatching their soldiers and armoured cars to massacre hundreds of defenceless children, women and old people whose sole crime was to dare hold peaceful demonstrations against the coup d'etat and demand the return of Samdech Head of State."

"The Phnom Penh traitors have committed the most barbarous genocidal crimes against Vietnamese living in Cambodia. They have been condemned unanimously by public opinion throughout the world, including American opinion."

"In face of the vigorous resistance of the Cambodian people who, in response to the solemn and historic call of Samdech Head of State of March 23, 1970, have risen up in arms against the usurers of constitutional power in the pay of the US imperialists, the fascist and reactionary Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique has called for help from

the US armed forces and those of the Saigon and Bangkok puppets."

"This clique has sold Cambodia out to the US imperialists and their Saigon and Bangkok lackeys, the very persons who have refused to recognize the present borders of our country."

"A great part of our beloved Motherland is today still occupied by the American-paid armed forces of Saigon and Bangkok who have committed all sorts of crimes ranging from systematic destruction of our cities and villages to such barbarous acts as pillage, rape and violence against our women and young girls."

"Recently, the so-called Ministry of Information of the puppet Lon Nol-Sirik Matak administration has been forced to admit these crimes committed by the mercenaries of its Saigon masters."

"The Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique was so cynical as to confirm that it had appealed and would continue to

appeal to the air forces of the US imperialists and of its Saigon and Bangkok masters to strike at Cambodian civilians and to raze to the ground their villages and houses."

"The nation, our people, the whole world are clearly aware of these facts. Our people can judge and declare which is for the Cambodian people and which is against the Cambodian people, the progressive camp or the US camp."

The statement stressed:

"The Royal Government of National Union who held a cabinet meeting on July 2, 1970, declared solemnly that it did not recognize the right of the traitors and usurers of constitutional power in Phnom Penh to try Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and dismissed the 'Sihanouk trial' as illegal. Consequently, the RGNU rejects in advance, in the name of the FUNK, any sentence passed by the so-called military tribunal set up by the traitors to the Motherland."

"The RGNU has put down in its political programme the eventual trial of all the Phnom Penh traitors and their collaborators guilty of high treason and of crimes against the Cambodian people, by a people's tribunal which is legal, when legality is restored in the country."

"The RGNU affirms its unshakable will to bring all these traitors before the people's tribunal after final victory."

Cambodia Facing US Aggression

KHMER YOUTH UP IN ARMS

The sun was high above in the sky. The May heat beat down on our yellow-green car. In the azure sky the wind drifted the white clouds into countless angels and demons which looked like those described in our legends. We went past immense and luxuriant fields criss-crossed with paths leading to various phumas (villages) and woks (districts).

Our group included a cameraman from Phnom Penh, a photographer from Nung Yent, two typists from Battambang and Kunpong Cham, and myself, a consultant from Toul Sap.

It was no accident that we were given this special assignment by the Information Office of the National United Front of Kampuchea. We were so because since the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup d'etat we had stood up to many tests. Our theatre of operations stretched from A to N and its size and hectic activity kept us constantly on the move. Now we took part in the Cambodian National Liberation actions on posts held by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak troops. Now we accompanied patriotic houses in visits to our fellow-countrymen and helped them rebuild their houses destroyed by the US-Thieu-Ky aviation, mortar or artillery. Now we were together with the Khmer (provisional) officials and organized a meeting for the reestablishment of the administration in the newly liberated areas.

Wherever we went we were offered food and board and shown great affection by the population. We were regarded as genuine revolutionary ones of the Cambodian nation by the old folk and ardently welcomed by the new Cambodian liberation troops. The more we travelled about, the more we loved

our country. Though Cambodia has only 180,000 square kilometers with 2 million people, it has been nearly 2,000 years in existence and has a brilliant record of struggle against foreign invasion. It has moreover a beautiful scenery and famous monuments like the Angkor temple. Though our people are hospitable and fond of art, they are impatient of aggression against which they always rise up, following in the steps of Pohmphe Sivtha, Achar Sen, Achar Henchien...

At present, their enemy are none other than the American imperialist invaders and their servants, the Thieu-Ky-Kien of South Viet Nam, the Phnom Penh lackeys of Thailand and the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak traitors who have invited foreigners to trample upon the national soil and have been savaging their own people. Even the old folk have to take arms against the American aggressors' were 70-year-old Yeu, hair flying about, a watch in his hand, at a meeting to set up a liberation committee. His fiery figure and words filled me with emotion and pride and reminded one of our forefathers battling against the Thai feudalists more than a thousand years ago, whose images have been carved into the Angkor temples' stone walls. We were confident that in a not distant future the Khmer people would certainly liberate their country and sweep out the US-puppet demons. And then, our friends the world over can again come and visit their beautiful land and its fine sites. Our streets will be decked out to welcome Head of State Sihanouk returning in triumph to Phnom Penh. Our countryfolk will gladly dance their Lum Thom and ask friends to climb into their houses on stilts and sit on their

patty mats, eat their best rice and drink their delicious that not.

At 17:15 we arrived at the last assembly point where Khmer youth met before going up the line. There the place was humming like a beehive. Scores of Honda, Vespa and countless bicycles of various colors were in the bushes. Hundreds of young Khmers, male and female, standing or sitting, were waiting for their turn to register their name and get a rifle. On the edges of gardens other people clad in sarong were lying in hammocks, talking and laughing freely. They had enlisted. I went to a nearby house. Here, more than a hundred new drafted Khmer girls were learning how to dress wounds, carry stretchers, or helping pound rice, paring vegetables, drawing chickens for the evening meal. The kids, children of the house-owners, were also all in the house, mimicking their brothers and sisters.

At 19:30 the lamps were lit. The moon had risen above the that not. A gentle breeze was sweeping the fields. The recruits now gathered in groups were discussing their duties to the fatherland and their behaviour toward their fellow-countrymen. Each time they took the floor the girls stood at attention like seasoned servicemen. Sitting in their houses on stilts the housewives chatted merrily, obviously pleased with the new life since liberation.

I went out of the phum to the oath-taking ceremony for the newly enlisted youth. The paths were crowded with people, motor-bicycles and jeeps. Five thousand men and women were waiting, nearly a half of them recruits, mostly dressed in light seams and variegated shirts. Among them were also Lon Nol's

armymen and policemen who had crossed over but still kept their uniforms. Most of them had transistors. Some had already been issued rifles. Everybody was in an optimistic mood. At a sudden blow of a whistle the crowd assembled in groups before the rostrum. The ceremony began. At one point, the recruits knelt down to take the oath under the banner of the Fatherland, pledging allegiance to the National United Front of Kampuchea. I was stirred as if I myself heard the sacred call of the Fatherland. After the swearing-in, the platoons and companies underwent military drill, performing the basic movements of a new soldier.

The night wore on. Here and there some recruits still made the last preparations for their next morning march. I gazed at the vault of the sky. On this immensity were profiled endless branches of the oak, their branches looking like determined sentries guarding our phumas for us to go and fight the aggressors. We were going the length and breadth of our Cambodian Fatherland after the US devils and their hirelings.

SAM LENH
Cambodian journalist



CAMBODIA

1,350 Saigon Puppet Troops Wiped Out in Three Days

ACCORDING to the Information Bureau of the National United Front of Kampuchea, the Cambodian National Liberation Armed Forces, in the three days ending June 28, fiercely attacked the Saigon puppet multi-battalion 318 and the two puppet armoured regiments 5 and 18 in Pann Cheung and Chap areas, Kompong Cham province, wiping out 1,350 enemy troops, destroying nearly 70 tanks or armoured vehicles.

On June 26, the CNLA completely put out of action the Saigon puppet commando battalion 31 in Pann Cheung, killing or wounding more than 200 enemy troops.

On June 27, the CNLA intercepted 4 infantry battalions and 5 armoured squadrons coming from Saigon to the rescue of Battalion 31, taking a toll of more than 600 enemy troops, destroying more than 40 tanks and armoured vehicles.

The next day, the CNLA mounted an attack on the enemy in Chap area, north of Pann Cheung, inflicting nearly 500 Saigon puppet casualties, captured many others, and blasted out of commission 28 tanks and armoured vehicles.

OPPOSITION to the Thieu - Ky - Khanh clique keeps mounting in spite of the anti-democratic measures they have taken and the new threats they have just uttered. Puppet dictator Thieu declared on June 25 last, Western press agencies reported, that "law" would be strictly enforced against those who demand peace. Later, the same source said that on July 4, Thieu ordered his subordinates to make use, more frequent still, of the public force and the army against any opposition to his ultra-reactionary policy.

On July 1, in Hue, a national convention of university and college students assembled a thousand representatives of Van Hanh Buddhist students, Saigon, (an Tho and Hue universities and Saigon and Hue high schools. The Congress issued a real challenge to the puppets by electing to the post of President of the SVN General Association of Students the President of the Saigon Students' Union, Huynh Tan Nam, who had just been released, and by staging a big anti-government demonstration. University and college students carried placards with slogans against the US war, the economic policy, and repression and reactionary terror by the ruling clique: "The Vietnamese people demand the ending of the war!", "Down with special measures!", "Down with the special law!" (giving Thieu full powers in economic matters for 5 months), "Down with militarization in schools!", "Down with press-censorship!", "Down with repression and terror!", "Down with US imperialism and its vultures!", "Down with Nguyen Van Thieu!", "Long live peace!", etc.

On July 6, the Saigon Students' Union decided to boycott military training

New Evidence of the Saigon Regime's Rottenness and Brutality

imposed by the administration and distributed leaflets saying that peace could be re-established in Viet Nam only with a total pull-out of all foreign troops.

On June 28, a funeral procession was held for Buddhist priest Thieu An, fatally wounded by Thieu's agents during an armed attack on the National Pagoda in Saigon by supporters of the renegade superior Thich Tam Chau. Twenty thousand Buddhists demonstrated on this occasion under the slogan "Those responsible for the death of the Reverend Thieu An are the administration and the foreigners."

War invalids of the puppet armed forces continued to press for their claims. Those in Saigon went on building shanties at various places and squares because the administration still refused to provide them with decent housing. Those in the Mekong Delta marched on 4 Can Tho and several of the buildings of the local university. Their shanties having been destroyed by police, on July 4 war invalids in Saigon picketed Thieu's residence, blocking the main entrance to the presidential palace and forcing the motorcycle which was to pick up US Secretary of State W. Rogers to take a side-gate.

Provincial and Municipal Election Force

NIXON needs make people believe in the success of his "Vietnam-

ization" of the war. Hence, the provincial and municipal elections organized by Thieu in June last. On this occasion the US-puppet propaganda machine whipped up big bellyhoo about the democratic character of the regime. The fact is there was a real popular boycott of this election force. Press censorship and multiple pressures on the part of the puppet authorities were unable to prevent some leaks into newspaper columns.

On July 2, the daily *Cap Tien* (Progressive) wrote: "In observing the elections in localities next door to Saigon, one did not fail to notice that the polling was a very light. This proved that the voters were fed up with the puppet. (...) Many a family even did not take the trouble to register themselves for a voting pass."

The paper continued:

"Remarkably enough, in two provinces respectively in the 3rd and 4th corps areas, and situated both at the doorstep of Saigon, the bigwigs, on orders from their chief, removed the bottom of the ballot-boxes or falsified reports to 'raise the dead chickens' (that is, to return candidates already rejected by voters)."

The scandal of these frauds was such that the Chairman of the Internal Affairs Committee of the puppet "House of Representatives" had to recognize

on June 27 that, "in all South Viet Nam [occupied zone] some one million people did not receive their voting cards (200,000-250,000 in Saigon) while a minority of voters got many of them each so as to elect candidates handpicked beforehand."

Another detail about the workings of American democracy in Saigon: it is the famous "special law" mentioned above which the paper *Thai Hai Moi* (New Epoch) on June 15 termed the "12-million law." The key to the riddle is simple. To be given full powers, Thieu paid each vote in his favour at the puppet "National Assembly" a modest sum of 200,000 piastres, and the deal cost him 12 million piastres.

Tiger Cages

On July 6, 8 students, members of the Saigon Student Committee of Action just released from jail, denounced to the press the atrocities perpetrated in US-puppet prisons. At Tan Hiep, some 30 kilometres from Saigon, where they had been incarcerated, the puppets kept under detention 3 categories of political prisoners, namely, the youth and the patriots classified as Viet Cong. They could see that many persons acquitted by the tribunal for lack of evidence, however remained in confinement "for security reason."

Bribeum

In our last issue, page 5, column 3, line 52, *divides* influence should read *devise* influence.

TO THE READER

We are aware that there is much room for improvement in our paper. We apologize for this shortcomings and highly appreciate all your suggestions as they will help us to serve you more efficiently in future.

AN international conference to support the peoples of the Portuguese colonies recently held in Rome by delegates from 64 countries representing 177 national and international organisations warmly hailed the message of congratulation from Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the DRVN, Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the CC of South Viet Nam NLF, and Cambodian Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, President of the FUNK, and the speeches by delegations of the South Viet Nam Committee for Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples, of the FUNK and the Lao Patriotic Front.

The participants condemned US imperialism's obstruction of their own destinies from 64 countries representing 177 national and international organisations warmly hailed the message of congratulation from Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the DRVN, Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the CC of South Viet Nam NLF, and Cambodian Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, President of the FUNK, and the speeches by delegations of the South Viet Nam Committee for Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples, of the FUNK and the Lao Patriotic Front.

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WORLD BACKS INDOCHINESE PEOPLES' STRUGGLE

for the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao people's struggle for national liberation.

"The French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party were resolved to co-ordinate with all fighters for peace and national independence their actions against US aggression in Indochina. They will strengthen the common struggle in support, and for the victory, of the Vietnamese people and other Indochinese peoples, for a prompt and unconditional withdrawal of US forces from Indochina and the independence of the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples," said the joint communique made public in Rome by Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy Secretary General of the PCP, and Georges Marchais, Deputy Secretary General of the PCF.

THE Czechoslovak-Sudan communique released on the occasion of the visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from June 25 to 28, 1970 by the Sudanese Prime Minister Mohamed El Nile, said that the two countries "entirely support the legitimate rights of the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao peoples (...), hold that the only settlement to the situation in this area lies in the cessation of US aggression,

U.S. WAR CRIMES IN VIET NAM IN FIRST HALF OF 1970

A ceremony for the DRVN Ambassador to East Germany and Plenipotentiary to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to present his credentials to the President of the DRVN, Nguyen Huu Tho, was held in Hanoi on June 23. President Moktar Ould Daddah stated: "The Vietnamese people's struggle has set a brilliant example for the oppressed nations. They are defeating an enemy possessing a huge economic and military superiority. Their eventual victory is laid in no doubt."

The President also reaffirmed the Mauritania people and Government's unqualified support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression.

In addition to raids by tactical planes and helicopters, strategic B-52 planes carried out wanton carpet-bombings on villages and even populous areas close to Saigon. The daily average of B-52 missions reached 10, a threefold increase compared with late 1969. For instance, on the night of May 25, 1970, about 60 B-52 planes showered nearly 2,000 tons of bombs along the Demilitarized Zone and south of Da Nang. On the night of June 23, some 30 B-52s dumped about 1,000 tons of bombs on Thau Thien and Quang Tri.

On orders from the Nixon Administration, fire bombs were dropped on the High Plateaux in January 1970, and toxic chemicals were sprayed on the villages of My Tho, My Tho, My Hoi, Binh Khanh, Quang Tri and Thach Ky (Kien Phong province), Hon Tan, Phu Long, Phu Khanh, Phu Hui, Phu Quan, Tan Luoc, and My Thuan A (Vinh Long province) in February 1970, ravaging crops and affecting people and cattle.

In March 1970, US marines threw CS gas canisters into underground shelters crowded with civilians in Que Son area (Quang Nam). At US instigation, the Saigon puppet administration cracked down upon religious sects, maltreated war invalids, repressed students, the press and even puppet "members of parliament" having progressive tendencies. It closed down all schools in Saigon,

Destruction bombs	Orange-sized pellet-bombs	Miscellaneous	Rockets
January 750	21,000	8	120
February 1,600	36,000	10	250
March 500	12,000	8	120
April 400	33,000	4	100
May 2,500	109,000	20	250
June 1,400	34,800	12	160
7,750	335,800	68	1,000

prosecuted or seized many newspapers on charges of reporting its unconstitutional acts and inhuman mistreatment of Vietnamese residents brought back from Cambodia!

In North Viet Nam, the communique went on, the Nixon clique have grossly broken their commitment to cease totally, unconditionally all US acts of war against the DRVN. During the period under review, 11,600 sorties of manned or unmanned aircraft were flown for 6,936 recon missions over the DRVN. The break-down:

January	1,160 sorties in 740 missions
February	1,350 " 850 "
March	1,450 " 840 "
April	1,600 " 1,300 "
May	3,100 " 1,000 "
June	2,100 " 1,320 "

US tactical and strategic planes made 548 attacks against 231 populated areas in

33 villages from the 17th to the 20th Parallel, including 458 raids by tactical planes and 60 raids by B-52s. The number of planes employed in each mission ranged from 30 to over 100. On January 3, four F-105 strafed Son Dien village (Quang Nam district, Thanh Hoa province) on the 20th Parallel. On March 27 and 28, more than 40 F-4 and F-105 sorties showered nearly 100 bombs and fired rockets on the Ngong De - Muong Xom area (Ky Son district, Nghe An province), also on the 20th Parallel, causing 30 civilian casualties and destroying one school and many houses. On April 19, 25 F-4 and F-105 sorties dropped 81 demolition bombs and 7,200 orange-sized steel-pellet bombs and fired rockets on populated areas in Binh Hoa district, Quang Binh province, causing four civilians, demolishing two houses and killing 20 buffaloes. On May 1, more than 70 F-4 and F-105 sorties from 30 to 130-25 hrs attacked Le Nhat State farm and Lam Ly camp in Le Thuy district, Quang Binh province, unleashing 200 demolition and time-bombs, killing or wounding 34 civilians including ten women and fourteen children. On May 11, 12 B-52 planes released a great deal of bombs on Huong Lap village in Vinh Linh area.

According to preliminary figures, US planes made:

- In January 52 raids (8 by B-52s) against 8 places in 8 villages.
- In February 130 raids (20 by B-52s) against 26 places in 5 villages
- In March to 60 raids (10 by B-52s) against 16 places in 6 villages
- In April 40 raids (1 by B-52s) against 20 places in 11 villages
- In May 170 raids (6 by B-52s) against 48 places in 22 villages
- In June 90 raids (6 by B-52s) against 16 places in 8 villages.

Quantity of ammunition used:

January	18 bombardments	600 shells
February	43	500
March	23	100
April	20	400
May	28	336
June	31	430

In particular, on June 18, guns based south of the Ben Hai river lobbed shells charged with toxic chemical on several areas in the northern half of the Demilitarized Zone, affecting many civilians.

15 or 16 US warships cruised off the shore from Thanh Hoa down to Ca Tung on a permanent basis, posing a grave threat to the routine activities of coastal fishermen.

74th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (July 8, 1970)

THE AMERICANS STILL CLING TO THEIR OBSCURE STAND

AT the 74th session of the Paris Conference, Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy, of the DRVN delegation, declared that President Nixon's June 30 report and July 1 press interview made it abundantly clear that the United States persisted in its aggressive policy and was reluctant to seek a negotiated settlement. The Americans, he said, must bear full responsibility for the prolongation and expansion of the Indochina war and the deadlock of the Paris Conference.

U.S. NEO-COLONIALISM...

(Continued from page 3)

Inna" wrote on Feb. 3, 1970: "Last year, erotic literature or to be exact pornographic literature took the lead. Pornography is greatly promoted. Next year will be the year of the Dog. There are hundreds of kinds of dogs. Let us hope that in the year to come, we shall have less headaches caused by barking, even it is literary and artistic barking."

a-national or rather anti-national, because they keep us aloof from burning topics in the country" (quoted by Vu Hanh in *Bach Khoa*, a Saigonese review, No 350, May 1, 1970).

American way of life, corruption, cult of the irrational, violence and pornography, together with anti-communism as a common denominator, are the components of a culture in the service of neo-colonialism.

This anti-national and anti-humanist virus is most generally speaking, affect the South Vietnamese people engaged for years in a stubborn patriotic struggle. It can attack

at most some narrow circles of townsfolk. Its inefficiency has been shown by the massive popular participation in the Tet 1968 offensives, the continual uprisings in town and country, and the spirited demonstrations held even in front of the stragglers held over in the US Embassy. In the occupied areas, despite fierce repression and huge means of corruption, writers, artists, intellectuals and students have been waging a vigorous campaign against the neo-colonialist culture.

The South Vietnamese people are profoundly attached to the cultural patrimony created at the price of great sacrifices in the course of a multi-millenary struggle against foreign aggression and natural scourges. The cultural traditions blossom in

the liberated areas, and are preserved and cultivated by the people's power which directs its efforts to the following points:

"To combat the US-imported slavish and depraved culture and education, which are impairing our people's fine cultural traditions. To build a national and democratic culture and education, to develop science and technique.

"To raise the cultural standard of the people, to liquidate illiteracy, to make complementary education available for the people, to open new general education schools."

(Program of Action of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam).

HUU NGOC

VIET NAM COURIER

From One Deception...

(Continued from page 8)

patience wearing out in the political circles: the recent Senate adoption of the Cooper-Church amendment was proof enough.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the majority of US congressmen have been and remain supporters of the neo-colonialist policy. In 1964 they accepted of their own free will to play into the hands of the Executive. Except for the really honest personalities favouring peace, many are still prepared to do so again if Nixon's deceptions

to their fight by the world's peoples including the American people. The politicians in Washington, whether in the Executive or the legislative, cannot remain indifferent to the action of the peoples. This has been borne out by the process leading to the rescindment of the "Gulf of Tonkin" Resolution.

The determining factor in the outcome of the Viet Nam and Indochina problem, remains the efforts of the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao peoples and the support given

* In his book entitled *The Truth Is the First Casualty*, Joseph Galloway wrote: "Through oversight or design, the United States did not inform Souvanna Phouma of the decision to begin bombings in his country. He angrily denounced the American aggression and threatened to resign from the coalition government unless the raids halted. Unger, after much cajoling and pleading, persuaded Souvanna to transform his protest into an 'independent mission' to continue. Thereafter the missions were flown almost daily."

VIET NAM COURIER

From One Deception to Another

On June 24, 1970, by an overwhelming majority of 81 to 10, the US Senate voted for the repeal of the so-called "Gulf of Tonkin" Resolution. This Resolution, passed on August 7, 1964 by the House of Representatives and Senate meeting in Congress, ruled that "The Congress approves and supports the determination of the President as Commander-in-Chief to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.... The United States is prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty requesting assistance in defence of its freedom."

The "Gulf of Tonkin" Resolution was passed following the alleged attacks against two US destroyers, the *Tarawa* and the *Maddox*, by North Vietnamese ships on August 2 and 4, 1964. (In August 4, 1964, the Government of the DRVN had public a declaration denouncing Washington's "shameless fabrication as a move to give the US a pretext for extending the war of aggression in Viet Nam."

At the August 7, 1964 session of the US Congress, only two senators, Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse, voted against the "Gulf of Tonkin" Resolution. The United States Senator Morse declared, had from the whole thing because it was the Americans who had fired first on the off-shore islands of North Viet Nam.

Thus, with the backing of an almost unanimous Congress, the Johnson administration began the escalation: the whole air power of the United States was thrown against North Viet Nam in the hope of carrying the day within a few weeks while in the South, American contingents landed en masse. At the same time, the Americans started bombing the whole territory of Laos, and the first raids were made even without the knowledge of the nominal head of the Vietnamese regime, Prince Souvanna Phouma.

It did not take those who had given the August 7, 1964 blank cheque to the US Chief Executive long to be disappointed. The main cause of this change of heart lay in the repeated setbacks suffered by the neo-colonial aggressors in Viet Nam. The first important dissent surfaced among the US ruling circles in early 1966 following the failure of the first dry-season counter-offensive in South Viet Nam and the

first proofs of the "toughness" of North Viet Nam. In January 1966, Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the first time questioned the wisdom of the August 7, 1964 vote. Doubt gradually spread to other congressmen and many personalities in the US political circles. Through heated congressional debates, especially in August 1967, and February 1968, a bitter fight opened the defenders of the escalation policy to those politicians awakened to the realities of a war as costly as unpromising. Truth gradually dawned upon the fact that the story of North Vietnamese torpedo boats taking on the *Tarawa* and *Maddox* was a sheer fabrication by the US government. By retracing this process of awakening of American conscience, the American journalist Joseph Goulden has arrived at this conclusion in his book *Truth Is the First Casualty*: the "Gulf of Tonkin" incident is a "multilevel deception" and in the first place "a deception of the Congress and the American people" by the administration.

Such Machiavellian methods and lies as political means were, in fact, resorted quite frequently by Johnson in handling the Vietnamese problem. However, he has been outstripped in this respect by his successor, Richard Nixon. Taking over the grisly heritage of Johnson, the new president of the United States has been facing up to an American opinion and a Congress more and more critical of the war. The bellicose Nixon, forced to row against the stream, has, in some respects, intensified the war in Viet Nam and has even expanded it to Cambodia. He must justify a policy that has been less and less acceptable to American opinion; therefore, the deceptions and sophistries used by Nixon have exceeded in scale and quantity those of his predecessor. He has been trying hard to make believe that the vote on the "Gulf of Tonkin" Resolution has nothing to do with him, but as President and Commander-in-Chief he has the right and duty to see to the safety of nearly half a million American soldiers over there. His cynicism has indeed gone beyond every limit! To believe him, the best way to ensure the safety of his "boys" is not to break with the policy hitherto pursued and to bring to some other, an honourable negotiated settlement.

By ordering the invasion of Cambodian territory by American units, Nixon actually acted over the head of the US Senate; thereafter, he resorted to lies, not to ask for congressional authorization as Johnson had done,

but to try to justify the measure he had himself decided: everyone now knows the fantastic figures he had many times given on the American television about imaginary US successes in Cambodian territory.

Truth and with it the whole American nation continue to be the casualties of the manoeuvres of a president. The US policy in Viet Nam is relying more and more on downright deceptions. The discovery of this hard fact has not failed to touch off vigorous reactions from public opinion and there have been more and more signs of

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SOUTH VIET NAM PEOPLE...

(Continued from page 1)

difficulties. The adverse situation can be summed up as follows:

1. Enemy forces were more and more thinned out, his weak points exposed and his war equipment badly damaged. His defensive posture was more shaky.

2. Enemy "rural pacification" plan, the key-point of his Vietnamisation policy, scored another setback.

3. The Nixon clique's political isolation grew more serious to the US and the world, especially since the aggression of Cambodia by US and Saigon puppet troops.

4. The Saigon puppet administration went on deteriorating; its inner differences were aggravated by the

unremitting stubborn struggle of the townsfolk.

5. Nixon's war intensification policy generated in the States a serious economic and financial crisis which boomeranged on the dependent economy of the Saigon puppet administration.

THE communiqué ended with an appeal to the entire people in South Viet Nam, including the officers and men in the PLAF, to press their advantage and overcome all difficulties created by the development of the revolution in order to bring the resistance to US aggression and the rest of the Indo-chinese peoples to complete victory.

